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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzämänumtnum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzämänumtnum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xläxtnum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzämänumtnum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth.

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual.

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553
* 556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[606] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire
[532] prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his
mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the
family of each may contribute something. If, for some inex-
plicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family
of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the
names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches
can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or
to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great
importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[685] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a
name to which he has no right.

*556 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance
782 in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces
of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed
bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws
the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small
pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the
supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

[756] Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

*556 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact
688 that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch
628 rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed cere-
monial *susok* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a
case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members
of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the de-
parting guests take away with them information of what has
happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the
chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledglings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb. This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Ălkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Sunxl*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common present from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

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855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitating than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative. There are no avoidances between the young people and their parents-in-law.

The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *kusiut* dance or other ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the woman loses financially in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any ceremonial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

The concept of mutual help between families who have intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *hamatsa*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *nusnoh* names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

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prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their later distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children, either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was ransomed, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

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551 with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with [553] that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

[773] *Ănăbtullănămlaix*, "The Resident Maker." In the beginning of time the wife of *Ťaiakwala* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Ťaiakwala*'s descendants until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqomkilika*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 578 606 *Olliyaiyɔ*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nalalulaki, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nukukuixodjăx, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Kwilălaix, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 578 *Nuxaaxa'as*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nuphätslsikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [666]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *nuusk* or *kusiut*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *nuusk*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the